The Ideology of Tolerance in King Abdullah's Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study

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Abstract: This paper elucidates the ideology of tolerance underlying speeches delivered by HM King Abdullah II. Three speeches were analysed according to Fairclough's framework (1989). The analysis has revealed the underlying ideological outlook emphasised and constructed in King Abdullah's speeches to consolidate the value of tolerance, such as eliminating all types of ethnic, religious, and social intolerance; spreading mutual respect, compassion, and peace; and supporting equality and anti-terrorism. Semantic features encompassing presupposition, metaphor, modality, lexical choices, and repetition have been employed to clarify His Majesty's ideology of tolerance and rebut the claims of extremism, advocating a peaceful and prosperous world for humanity and creating a positive mental image of Islam. The findings show that tolerance discourse is a discourse of power that plays as a persuasive communication of ideological propositions. The findings could benefit researchers, linguists, and students who are interested in interpreting texts of various genres.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, Fairclough's framework, ideology, King Abdullah II, tolerance

1. Introduction and theoretical background

Discourse analysis (DA) focuses on the notion of language integrating various meanings in use (Titscher and Jenner 2000). DA not only probes the formal properties of language but also considers the relationship between language and the sociocultural contexts in which it is conveyed; that is, DA comprises the study of language beyond individual sentences. Language is instead considered as the basis of social construction and relationships (Bayram, 2010). Thus, discourses can be used as a powerful tool for affirming social power, knowledge, conflict, and critique.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary field of study that is quickly gaining ground. It examines social inequality, power relations, and the underlying ideologies that are represented and enacted in discourses. The intriguing methods people employ to convey their points of view and beliefs have spurred researchers to conduct studies to unravel them. Thus, CDA is primarily

concerned with the examination of the meanings speakers communicate and the actions executed when communicating in certain situations. It is a growing discipline that consists of distinctive theoretical and methodological approaches that consider language a form of social practice (Janks 1997). Several CDA theoretical models exist (i.e. Van Dijk 1993; Wodak, 1999; Fairclough, 1989; 2001). Fairclough (2013) asserts that CDA adopts a multiple theoretical framework with diverse perspectives.

Fairclough's (1992; 2001) prominent framework has been adopted in the present study as a tool of analysis. It focuses on the relationship between the form and function of the language expressed in discourse. It is based on two primary conceptions: viewing language as a form of social action and as a tool capable of deconstructing the social system of power in texts. He focuses on "the order of discourse", where discourses are controlled by diverse networks. To understand a discourse, Fairclough relates the examination of micro texts to the macro social contexts. In other words, the textual features of the form, content, and arrangement are examined along with the sociocultural processes and relationships. This indicates that Fairclough's CDA framework concentrates on integrating three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practices. Following this approach of analysis consequently helps discourse analysts understand language forms and discover the ideology, power relations, and social processes integrated into the discourse.

Political discourse is defined as eloquence, both written and oral, employed by politicians, political parties, and organisations to grab attract others' attention and convince them of something. Such discourse helps speakers put their political, economic, and social thoughts into use. It stems from diverse sources, such as region, power, history, socio-cultural background, and social status. In this manner, discourse fulfils certain functions regarding political activities, ideas, and relationships. Politicians' speeches, which are often delivered during crises, attract the attention of media and CDA researchers. Although studies have addressed the critical issues highlighted in such speeches, few have focused on critically analysing the notion of spreading the culture of tolerance. Recently evident conflicts amongst members of different ethnicities, schools of thoughts, policies, languages, cultures, and religions highlight the importance of spreading tolerance worldwide.

Tolerance, a significant notion that should be cherished in a world full of diversities, is perceived as a concept full of meanings that can be discursively employed for achieving various purposes in different means and contexts (Verkuyten 2022). In essence, the term refers to accepting innumerable differences (Von Bergen et al., 2012; Verkuyten et al. 2020) and symbolises remission, open-mindedness, and the ability to hold opposing viewpoints or behaviours (Al-Zibin and Abdullah (2019). For the purpose of the study, besides these features, it encompasses legitimising dialogue, eliminating class differences, and counselling.

People around the world aim to enjoy a peaceful life and feel safe and unthreatened. The notion of tolerance is widely known, although its underlying meaning is increasingly invisible, less understood, and not applied

(Taufiqurrahman 2017). Intolerant actions are spreading increasingly in social practices, while the world faces diverse challenges encompassing extremism, terrorism, chaos, antipathy, and instability. The spread of such challenges could be attributed to the absence of the great role families and schools should play in educating children and the lack of respect and responsibility towards others' property and rights to express their viewpoints freely.

Tolerance and moderation are amongst the highest values in Jordanian political speeches (Khawaldeh and Abu Hatab 2018; AlEsawi 2020). The religious values adopted by the Jordanian political system as demonstrated in political discourses have greatly influenced Jordanians' opinions on terrorism and extremism (Ebniya 2020). Despite the numerous studies analysing hate speeches (Rangkuti and Lubis 2019; Paz, Montero-Díaz, and Moreno-Delgado 2020; Obiora Aboh, and Dioka 2021), some studies have tackled the concept of tolerance. As such, this study adds to the existing literature through analysing three recent speeches of King Abdullah on spreading the notion of tolerance. His Majesty is a remarkable political figure whose significant contribution to encountering the threat of terrorism is praised worldwide. He received the Path to Peace Award at a ceremony held in New York due to his distinct vision for spreading tolerance through his speeches and initiatives. His most important initiative, the "Amman Message", is a statement calling for the rejection of all forms of extremism, affirming the image of the tolerant Islamic religion based on moderation and calling for meaningful and tolerant dialogue. The study aims to demonstrate the linguistic aspects through which His Majesty's ideology of tolerance is represented and affirmed in the selected speeches by answering the following research question:

How is a pro-tolerance ideology constructed in King Abdullah II's speeches?

This study shows how linguists' analysis of political discourse can uncover leaders' ideologies, which could influence peoples' attitudes and actions towards real events. The findings of the study could contribute to existing research and help other linguists, researchers, and learners in analysing and interpreting different types of discourse.

2. Review of literature

The notion of tolerance has been the focus of recent studies due to prevalent conflicts amongst religious, ethnic, social, and political groups at both the national and international levels. It has been examined from different lenses. Through a socio-cognitive perspective, Al-Zibin and Abdullah (2019) examined how tolerance manifested through metaphors in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) media after 2019 was proclaimed the Year of Tolerance. They found that numerous source domains were utilised to conceptualise tolerance, representing specific aspects of the Emirati culture and influencing its model of tolerance. Three sorts of experience form the conceptual metaphors of tolerance: bodily experience, which stems from human cognitive embodiment and incorporates with cultural experience in the Emirati context, based on a presumption that

embodiment, is socio-culturally grounded. A linguistic experience inherited by speakers further forms a part of their cognitive and cultural heritage.

From a media perspective, Al Esawi (2020) casts light on the vision of His Majesty King Abdullah II in combating terrorism and spreading tolerance, as demonstrated in his selected speeches (2015–2020). The analysis reveals that terrorism is considered a great threat to Islam and people worldwide. The author identifies three key axes for confronting extremist ideology and spreading tolerance: (a) a civil state that believes in the rule of law and respects pluralism, diversity, and acceptance of others' opinions; (b) the existence of a democratic system that adopts dialogue and compromise, a rejection of violence, and respect amongst citizens; and (c) active citizenship. Humanitarian, moral, and economic frameworks are used by His Majesty to reinforce his vision of tolerance. He asserts the great role played by social media in combating terrorism and spreading the culture of tolerance. Hameed (2019) has identified the role social networks play in spreading tolerance in the Iraqi community from the viewpoints of Iraqi journalists. The analysis of the survey revealed that the culture of tolerance is demonstrated in humanitarian issues over networks that specifically call for a united society, assisting the needy, and the freedom to practise religious rites.

From a linguistic standpoint, tolerance was examined in some studies. For example, Sajjad (2015) critically analysed former US president Barak Obama's ideological policy towards the East and the Muslim world as implicitly exhibiting power and dominance. The outcomes imply that Obama defended US interests of peace, growth, democracy, and economic reinforcement against change and generally targeted young people. Using various effective textual and contextual references helps him revitalise critical issues of tolerance, global peace and security, human rights, and anti-violence. Concerning the other side of the ideology of tolerance, Khawaldeh and Abu Hatab (2018) analysed the anti-terrorism ideology of the Jordanian monarchy's political discourse. Via the socio-cognitive approach, the analysis reveals the underlying ideological attitudes encoded in these speeches using several linguistic resources, such as repetition, metaphor, presupposition, and other syntactic structures. The ideology is primarily based on rebutting the negative mental image of Islam created by terrorists, as well as fighting all types of terrorism. In addition, Btoush (2021) analyses of King Abdullah II's intellectual vision in fighting extremism and terrorism. The results assert that these notions constitute a danger threatening the security of people at the global level. They distort the image of Islam and Muslims. The results also illustrate the causes, risks, and means of confronting extremist thoughts and terrorist practices. Through this, His Majesty explains the very nature of Islam and purifies its image of the doubts stemming from terrorist practices.

From a pedagogical viewpoint, Khoirunisa **Suryaman, and Yanto** (2021 See my note above) analysed English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks and found that through both visual and verbal texts, the textbooks incorporate tolerance values in cultural and religious differences. However, they are predominantly represented through activity amongst peers such as behaving politely and showing care and respect to others' habitual actions without differentiating between

religious and ethnic cultures. It was recommended that these textbook designers fully consider representing tolerance sensitivity and other moral messages.

The literature review reveals a scarcity of research on the notion of tolerance in general and the linguistic and ideological perspectives of tolerance in particular. Thus, this study aims to bridge the research gap through investigating the linguistic features and underlying ideologies of the Jordanian Monarchy's speeches on tolerance. Through providing an accurate analysis of the inherent messages of King Abdullah II's selected speeches, this study casts light on the powerful relationship connecting language and ideology. It further demonstrates the intrinsic semantic structures of discourse along with the mental representations of reality.

3. Methodology

The sample of this study comprises three speeches delivered by King Abdullah II. Speech 1, "Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II Receiving the Path to Peace Award at the 2022 Gala Dinner of the Path to Peace Foundation" [1] was delivered on 09 May 2022 in the US. Speech 2, "Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Peace of Westphalia Prize Ceremony" [2], was delivered on 9 October 2016. Speech 3, "Remarks by His Majesty King Abdullah II at the Asian-African Conference Summit: Strengthening South-South Cooperation to Promote World Peace and Prosperity" [3], was delivered on 22 April 2015.

These three speeches are analysed using Fairclough's (1989) theoretical framework, which is based on three levels of analysis: (a) analysing the formal properties of the text, including the linguistic features, lexicon, grammar, and cohesion on both the micro and macro levels; (b) examining the relationship between text and interaction, such as intertextuality and productivity; and (c) investigating the relationship between text and social context. Fairclough (1995) believes that ideology is embedded in linguistic forms, including lexical terms, syntactic structures, rhetoric figures, styles, and the structure of the discourse. Such forms provide ideological meanings of social actors and identify groups' relationships. The analysis begins by scrutinising the semantic components (lexical choices, phrases, sentences, expressions, and propositions), which are powerful in creating mental representations, building knowledge, and influencing beliefs and attitudes considering a specific social context and political background. Syntactic structures, including passive and active structures, pronouns, nominalisation, and cleft sentences, could allude to certain implied meanings in the political discourse. Rhetorical figures, such as repetition, metaphor, hyperbole, and simile, are also examined. All of these devices help to propagate King Abdullah II's ideology, relating his speeches to cognition to account for the underlying agendas.

4. Results and discussion
4.1 The semantic level

His Majesty's lexical choice is valuable and meaningful and contributes towards promoting a world of peace and unity. His speeches all repeatedly call for solidarity, unity, and cooperation to achieve tolerance through ending aggression and crises, especially in fragile societies and countries. He evidently selects words

that express the fundamental values and principles of tolerance concerning all members of other religions and ethnicities, such as "strengthening", "uphold", "integrity", "legitimacy", and "our neighbours". The word "neighbours" specifically reflects his underlying ideology of the necessity of unification, coexistence, harmonisation, and solidarity for facing an attack on the entire world, since he believes that people from all over the world are neighbours sharing the same situation and facing the same problems. This implies that any problem that happens in any country could affect all neighbouring countries as well. Table 1 shows the frequency of using friendly, motivating, and supportive tolerance-based words and phrases.

Table 1. Friendly words, phrases and clauses

Friendly, Motivating, Supporting Words, Phrases and Clauses				
stability (4)	cooperation (8)	peace, peaceful (31)	co-existence (3)	a zone of peace prosperity that connects and changes the world.
promise	strength, strengthened, strengthen (3)	solidarity (3)	respect (8)	stand as one against the forces of evil
diversity (1)	future (16)	tolerance (3)	openness (1)	end the occupation and injustice
help (8)	growth (3)	rights (3)	equality (2)	human, humanity, humankind, humanitarian (13)
all (28)	prosperity (3)	mercy merciful (5)	dignity (4)	guides our global responsibilities
defeat poverty and despair	hope (10)	security (4)	harmony (1)	the future our people expect and deserve
justice (3)	freedom (2)	together (7)	neighbour (5)	stand as one against the forces of evil

4.2 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is also evident in all his speeches as a method to lend support to his ideology of spreading peace and culture. He uses the tolerant words of the prophet Mohammed, in which King Abdullah defines the relationship between being merciful towards others and God being merciful towards someone, saying, "God does not have mercy on someone who is not merciful towards other people" [Sahih Bukhari; Sahih Muslim]. Besides using the hadith to convince his audience, he uses the rules of the Bible, such as "the Golden Commandment, to love our neighbour". Linking the teachings of the religions together means linking different people together by showing that religions call for unity and tolerance, as His Majesty says,

> This collective interest is the Golden Commandment, expressed in all three of the monotheistic religions that had their roots in my region, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.

King Abdullah uses a negative form to emphasise the negative consequences of intolerance and disapproval of other beliefs, when he says,

> Nothing serves the interests of global terror groups more than our fear and misunderstanding of each other.

Moreover, he cites the Peace of Westphalia, comprising two peace treaties signed in 1648 in the cities of Osnabrück and Münster, affirming that the war of Westphalia was ended through "negotiated, international diplomacy – helping re-shape the modern system". Furthermore, he compares some influential voices opposed to reconciliation; not putting grievances aside, not accepting neighbours of a different path or faith or those who think differently. King Abdullah affirms the importance of a collective interest: peace, cooperation, and mutual respect. He asserts that this treaty has achieved the most important pledge represented by "sincerity and zeal" for "the benefit, honour, and advantage" of the other side. Furthermore, he cites a story of the Asian and African crises to give more credit and honesty to King Abdullah to convince his people of the importance of partnerships. King Abdullah connects the importance of meeting the challenges of the 21st century with the importance of Germany's commitment to peace and tolerance. In addition, King Abdullah shows his respect and extends his thanks to the German people and leaders, particularly to Chancellor Merkel for her efforts in spreading peace.

4.3 Metaphor

King Abdullah benefits from metaphor in illuminating opposing aspects of ideology (tolerance and extremism) and simultaneously uses examples of positive and negative metaphors to show "our" good traits and "their" bad traits. He uses the metaphor "spread the seeds of cynicism and division worldwide" to deliver emotions, feelings, and help his audience imagine and understand the situation they are living in. Furthermore, he imagines cynicism and hate as seeds to be planted

that proliferate like weeds. In addition, using the metaphor "an oasis of peace" implies that Jordan gathers different races and religions, emphasises the Jordanians' sympathy and tolerance towards those in need and the refugees. It also indicates that Jordan is a pleasant and quiet place surrounded by unpleasant areas and atmospheres. To make his speeches more engaging, memorable, and eloquent, he uses a further metaphor, "less than a drop in the ocean of good Muslim citizens, here and in every region", to affirm that the Khawarej extremists are the outlaws of Islam and that Islam is innocent of them. In this case, the use of metaphor enhances the audience's cognitive processes to build a mental model fixed in their subconscious of the danger of terrorists surrounding them. This finding supports researchers' (Al-Zibin and Abdullah 2019) outcomes that metaphors are powerful expressions that reflect several source domains used to conceptualise concepts such as tolerance.

4.4 Pronouns

The use of plural pronouns could also imply a presupposition that building a strong relationship with the target audience could help the King establish a potent unity with the addressees and convince them of his intended message: spreading tolerance through combating terrorism. The plural pronouns "we, our, their/they, your" are used more than the pronoun "I/my", as shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Personal pronouns used in the speeches

Speech	Our/We	Their/They/Your	I/My	Together
Speech 1	27	10	10	4
Speech 2	38	11	18	1
Speech 3	16	2	4	2
Total	81	23	32	7

King Abdullah focuses on revealing "Our good things" by using "we" and "our" to represent Africans and Asians as a unified audience, including the King and his people. In the statement "our fellow Jordanians, men and women, young people and elders, Muslims and Christians alike", King Abdullah emphasises the role of all different types of people in the Jordan community, in which he implicitly refutes discrimination. He also shows the pride of Asians and Africans who fight the challenges and difficulties that they have faced, including racism and discrimination. For example, King Abdullah glorifies Indonesia as the host country for the event and uses a superlative structure to highlight the country's importance

not only as the host country but also as a great Islamic heritage: "The largest Muslim country, Indonesia, a country built on Islam's message of peace and tolerance". King Abdullah intentionally mentions this additional information to raise the importance of Indonesia as a Muslim country for calling for peace and tolerance. He wants to deliver a message of Islam and therefore highlights the importance of Islam for hosting the event in a Muslim country, connecting Islam with the heritage of cultural wealth, trade, and regional cooperation. King Abdullah uses the phrase "let us keep in mind" to remind others of the importance of Asian and African countries, revealing that despite the discrimination and aggression those countries have received, they are in the top ten. Additionally, he reveals that Asia and Africa have achieved extraordinary milestones in political sovereignty and economic growth due to the solidarity amongst Asians and Africans. However, His Majesty thinks that those gains are attributed to new challenges, new threats, and new expectations.

4.5 Presupposition

As noted above, the King is proud that Asian and African countries are in the top ten in terms of welcoming refugees and mentions that Jordan is the world's third-largest refugee host, providing shelter to 1.4 million people fleeing Syrian violence. The superlative form that King Abdullah uses shows Jordan's goodness for being "the biggest host of refugees in the world". King Abdullah thus shows that Jordan does their part and endures many challenges by hosting Syrian, Palestinian, Iraqi, Libyan, and Yemeni refugees. King Abdullah provides statistical evidence for the "good thing" of Jordan for enduring the pressures resulting from the huge number of refugees. He further uses explanations, argumentation, and comparatives to show the good of "our things" in the following quote:

> Investing in Jordan is, in reality, a much larger investment in stability, resilience, and hope for those in my country but also for the region. Jordan's response to the refugee challenge emphasises sustainability: infrastructure, job creation, trade, investment, and more. Getting kids in school and workers into jobs so that a prospering Jordan and post-conflict Syria can thrive.

King Abdullah plays the role of protector of Islam by introducing having faith in God as the connection between Islam and other religions. He defends and clears the false and wrong impressions of Islam by acknowledging other religions and giving credit not only for Islam but for Christianity and Judaism as well, which together comprise the main source of the collective interests that all countries seek. He exonerates Islam of wrong and false accusations, arguing that Islam is a tolerant religion, and blames the leaders of countries for their lack of information about Islam and for following the stereotypes that distort its true nature. He refutes the accusations against Islam, saying, "Islam teaches the equality of human beings, mercy, respect for the dignity of all people, and living beside each other as good neighbours". He is proud of his Islam; he begins all three speeches by naming God,

showing his application of Islam teachings "in the name of God, the Most Merciful, and the Compassionate" and mentioning some of God's characteristics that show that Islam follows God, who calls for mercy and compassion. Moreover, Islam and Muslims are known for their famous greeting; the King starts his speeches with "peace be upon you", a sign of peace and praying for safety from every affliction, sickness, madness, and evil of people, from sin and diseases of the heart. Put simply, King Abdullah calls for peace and shows that Islam comes with a message of peace, affection, and tolerance.

The message here is that a lack of understanding of the true nature of Islam encourages terrorists to divide countries: "Extremists – on all sides – use that lack of knowledge to polarise societies and drive us apart". King Abdullah thus conveniently allows the audience to ignore such baseless accusations, providing that instead of "benefiting a country or community, this division harms us all". He admits that religious tolerance is limited but simultaneously confirms the importance of establishing religious tolerance, saying, and "helped point the way to the interfaith acceptance on which humanity's future depends". His ideology of religious tolerance is represented in his respect for other religions: "We join people around the world, of many religions". His emphasis that Arab Christians are an integral part of Islam's past, present, and future further represents this and highlights their role in correcting false pictures of Islam. The use of the reflexive pronoun "himself" as an intensifier further emphasises the Christians' role in believing in mutual respect amongst religions. This affirms that not only do he and the Jordanians accept and tolerate other faiths, but they also admit their similar role in exonerating Islam from falsification. He supports this argument with exemplification by setting the Pope as a good example for his efforts to correct the false and ugly pictures of Islam, which reflects his appreciation of and thanks to him and his foundations.

Moreover, using the present perfect tense (e.g. has repeatedly reached out, has praised) helps him express his and the Jordanians' long-term role in the Muslim world, by which he refers to their past role and future potential holding promise for an effective contribution to the Muslim world. He begins his speeches by emphasising his in-group and connecting it to the out-group, in which both are guided by a strong faith in God based on believing in humanity and mutual respect for equal dignity, compassion, peace, and hope. Through repetition, using "repeat" and "said so often", he represents his firm ideas that assert his position on the importance of Christianity and Christians in the Arab world on every possible occasion by saying,

> Let me repeat what I have said so often: Arab Christians are an integral part, and a valued part of our region's past, present, and future.

By representing a brilliant image of Jordan as a good example of tolerance, King Abdullah invites his audience to unite and work together to build mutual respect, cooperation, and peace by using "let us". He reminds the audience of the

importance of cooperation and the unity of people from all races and all faiths when he says,

> Humanity is most strong, our values are most safe, when all people, of all faiths, share in the life and rights and hopes of their countries. When we do that, we create a future of peace for all humankind.

King Abdullah provides arguments and explanations of why the unity of all countries is so important and implicitly blames others by saying, "It is wrong for Jordanians to be asked to carry such a refugee burden". King Abdullah thus calls upon other countries to do their part in solving the refugee influx by emphasising that it demands global, collective action to share the burden and support host communities and refugees alike:

> Support a Syrian-led political process – one that engages all components of the Syrian people, upholds Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity, ends suffering, and brings hope.

He also uses logic to convince his audience using "the conditional if", which is used to express two situations depending on each other, which happens to reflect a desirable and positive futuristic reality or an imagined belief, as in, "If regional host countries were unable to fulfil our roles, the refugee burden would not disappear".

King Abdullah emphasises "our good things" using the pronouns "we" and "our" to represent the good of Islam and the bad of Daesh that defame the true Islam through manipulating its teachings to justify appalling acts, acts condemned by traditional Islam and Muslims everywhere. He names them Khawarij, or outlaws, and simultaneously provides a definition – those "who have targeted Islam with perverted ideologies" – to represent how bad they are. He juxtaposes the tolerance ideologies of all religions and the perverted ideologies of extremists. He further describes them as "forces of evil, outlaws, and terrorists" for distorting Islam through fabricated charges and narratives towards Islam and Muslims. This implies that the world is facing a ferocious ideological battle against Daesh's radical ideologies. This presupposition of Daesh as "forces" alludes to another embedded ideological note that reiterates the above-mentioned remark concerning the necessity of infusing mutual collaboration amongst countries to defeat and combat this strong group of terrorists, as he says,

> Our will to jointly defeat poverty and despair, end occupation and injustice, help refugees everywhere return home, ready to rebuild shattered communities, and renew the hope that young people everywhere so desperately need.

To emphasise the role of Islam, King Abdullah provides an example of Islam's position towards extremities: "When terrorists murdered two innocent

Japanese hostages and our hero pilot". King Abdullah thus tries to convince his audience that both Muslims and non-Muslims are victims of arrest, imprisonment, beating, torturing, and execution.

King Abdullah also presents a presupposition that highlights the significance of Jerusalem as the path of peace, the holy city, the home of prayers and hopes, a future of peace and stability, and an anchor for peace and coexistence. He increases its significance by connecting the end of violence and achieving peace with the freedom of Palestinians: "The cycle of violence and agony must stop". He takes the strict position of ending the cycle of violence in the Palestinian–Israeli conflict by using "must" for strong obligations. In doing so, he calls for peace and tolerance between the two sides, considering Jerusalem the station and key to peace, harmony, and freedom of worship. By asserting this, he implicitly reminds the audience of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict and provides the solution to ending the conflict that both must live in peace and security. He calls for the need to intensify efforts to reach a comprehensive and lasting peace based on the two-state solution, in a manner that guarantees the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, as in the following statements:

> And it is essential that the world help the parties get back to work to end the crisis. That goal requires a peace that is just and lasting, and can provide a future of hope for Palestinians and Israelis alike And that is the two-state solution, leading to the establishment of an independent, sovereign, and viable Palestinian state, with East Jerusalem as its capital, living side-by-side with Israel in peace and security.

Moreover, King Abdullah refers to the Palestinians' situation to win the sympathy of other countries and adopts a heartbreaking tone when he says, "Who could imagine that 60 years later, Palestine would still not have statehood?" The long duration of suffering and the challenges Palestinians have faced during the past 60 years attract more attention and sympathy towards Palestinians. King Abdullah holds all people around the world accountable, emphasising that Palestinians' crises are the world's crises. King Abdullah invites and encourages them to start working together to end the conflict: "Let us act as one, for a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict."

He also has a presupposition regarding the youth and their importance in attaining a peaceful and prosperous society that is evident in his saying,

> Society always includes a youth group as co-recipient of this Prize. We have all heard it said that the future of world peace is in the hands of our young people.

King Abdullah asserts the importance of youth to spread tolerance and peace when he says: "In fact, the world's peace is already in the hands of young people". In doing so, he confirms the role of young people in parliamentary voting, in which the highest response occurs amongst young people under 30. King Abdullah

implicitly disapproves of sexual discrimination by using the word "youth" and clarifies his point of sexual tolerance by mentioning both genders rather than focusing on males over females.

King Abdullah uses rhetorical questions to create dramatic effects or make points rather than obtain answers. Of course, he does not wait for answers from the audience about the question. He asks the audience only to persuade them and emphasise his point about the importance of unity, respect, and tolerance, as in the following sayings:

> If we ignore distant violence and poverty, as if it has nothing to do with our lives, our countries, our economies?
>
> If we close our eyes to the worst global refugee crisis in human history, and let a "lost generation", millions of young people, come of age without hope?
>
> If we let the future belong, not to law, but to outlaws: mass murder, persecution, the abuse of children, the enslavement of women, videoed executions of those who disagree?

However, before King Abdullah poses these rhetorical questions, he asks the audience to "imagine what the future would look like if we do not take a stand for each other". Again, he does not wait for answers; he knows the audience acknowledges the answer. However, he gives a straight answer to these questions despite the audience's knowledge of the answer. He wants to affirm the results of such division, saying, "No. To such a future, we must say no".

His Majesty uses explanations and clarifications of the importance of working together by creating new opportunities for young people, giving everyone a stake in a peaceful society, and creating new avenues for economic growth, development, and opportunity for all. However, King Abdullah cheers the audience by introducing the good side of being unified and thus shows the results of the cooperation between countries by considering all countries as one using the words "our countries". He begins his statement by listing reasons for failing to unify and work together (failing to uphold the principles of global justice). Using the present perfect signals that it occurred in the past and that we are still failing to uphold the principles of global justice.

The above discussion shows that His Majesty expresses his ideological positions implicitly, utilising certain presuppositions to affirm facts concerning refusing all sorts of discrimination against different races and religions; to motivate mutual respect, cooperation, and well-established unity amongst members of the same country and all other countries; and to jointly fight all threats of extremists for the sake of spreading the culture of tolerance. Considering these underlying ideologies will help in reshaping better world for humans, as His Majesty says,

> Let the humanity we share and the values that bring us together, be our
> guide as we make our journey into this uncertain future. They are the light
> that will keep us on the path to peace, and to the hope that peace can bring.
> I am grateful to have your wise fellowship along the way

From a socio-cognitive perspective, asserting these facts and implicitly using presupposition give rise to changing and updating the audience's attitudes, opinions, and thoughts about terrorists. This would raise the audience's mental cognitive awareness about the terrorists' poisonous ideas, attitudes, beliefs, and acts as a serious threat to the whole world. This implies that the audience is mentally activated to rethink and perceive the reality of extremists. Consequently, these mental processes are finally formulated as a static and fixed hateful mental model of extremists. The study supports researchers' (Jeffries 2010 and Alaghbary 2022) finding that discourses are powerful in transmitting, inculcating, and strengthening ideologies in readers' minds.

Overall, the analysis reveals that His Majesty King Abdullah II delivers impassioned speeches focusing on different themes that could contribute to the overall goal: spreading the culture of tolerance. He uses language very skillfully to convince the universal audience of the necessity of spreading tolerance through acting constructively. His ideologies are represented in his speeches as a way to implement his "ambitious, progressive vision for the nation based on political openness, economic and social development and the values of peace and tolerance taught by Islam."[4]

The analysis uncovers the underlying ideologies that support his vision of spreading tolerance: thought tolerance, social tolerance, religious tolerance, and racial tolerance. All these types of ideologies involve accepting and understanding the possibility that other people hold different beliefs, accepting the harmonious coexistence with these people, and believing in diversity, which could in turn lead to a better peaceful and tolerant world. It is evident that the titles selected for the speeches imply insights into his ideology of spreading peace and tolerance through collaboration from all over the world, one of which is explicitly titled to show that King Abdullah II received an award for his great efforts in spreading peace. The three speeches underpin enhancing the principles of the culture of tolerance, which are acceptance, dialogue, diversity, openness, equality of human beings, mercy, and respect for the dignity of all people who hold different attitudes and beliefs. Overall, this research holds implications for how language can be used to promote the values of peace, tolerance, and mutual respect.

5. Conclusion and recommendations

The study critically analyses three of King Abdullah's II discourses to examine his pro-tolerance ideology. The analysis reveals that His Majesty's ideology advocates tolerance, security, peace, empathy, respect, and equality amongst all human beings as the basic values that cause harmony and global joint actions. Concerted international efforts are the only way through which humanity will be able to face its challenges and serious threats to find effective solutions to global crises. He has

successfully constructed his ideologies through the perfect usage of certain presuppositions, lexical and syntactic features, and rhetorical devices. The ideologies calling for eliminating all forms of discrimination and intolerance based on race, religion, or other factors and encouraging unity and diversity acceptance are important presuppositions for defeating extremism and ending wars. Such ideologies should not only be expressed in discourse; rather, they should form a mental system that organises social cognition enacted in all forms of action and interaction in various contexts. The findings highlight that concerted efforts are required from people worldwide to push creative young energies that work on positive change, multicultural development and tolerance values.

Based on this analysis, it is recommended that more studies be conducted to gain a better understanding of how tolerance is presented in other national speeches delivered by His Majesty and how it is enacted in daily life. Other studies could focus on examining how tolerance is represented in textbooks, which have become an effective instructional guide for developing the socio-cognitive abilities of new generations.

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Endnotes

[1]https://kingabdullah.jo/en/speeches/receiving-path-peace-award-2022-gala-dinner-path-peace-foundation
[2] https://kingabdullah.jo/en/speeches/peace-westphalia-prize-ceremony
[3]https://kingabdullah.jo/en/speeches/asian-african-conference
summit-%E2%80%9Cstrengthening-south-south-cooperation-promote-world-peace
[4] https://kingabdullah.jo/en/page/royal-vision

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